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Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY PANAMA PRIORITY
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TOSEC 366 ZFF JERUSALEM ONLY

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TAGS: PFOR, PN
SUBJ: NEW YORK TIMES STROM THURMOND ARTICLE
JERUSALEM PLEASE PASS TO AMBASSADOR BUNKER

BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED:
1. FOLLOWING ARTICLE BY STROM THURMOND EDITORIAL PAGE
NEW YORK TIMES:

QUOTE WASHINGTON -- SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER AND THE
PANAMANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER JUAN ANTONIO TACK, ON FEB
7 SIGNED A 'JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES' TO SERVE
AS THE BASIS OF TREATY NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE SURRENDER OF
UNITED STATES SOVEREIGNTY IN THE CANAL ZONE.

QUOTE IN MY JUDGMENT, THE SECRETARY COMMITTED AN EGREGIOUS
BLUNDER IN COMMITTING THE UNITED STATES TO A COURSE OF
ACTION ON A NEW PANAMA TREATY WITHOUT A REASONABLE
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ASSURANCE THAT THE REQUISITE TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY OF

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THE SENATE SUPPORTED THE ABROGATION OF SOVEREIGNTY.

QUOTE IN CONSULTATIONS WITH MEMBERS OF CONGRESS BEFORE SIGNING THE STATEMENT, MR. KISSINGER AND HIS CHIEF NEGOTIATOR, AMBASSADOR ELLSWORTH BUNKER, RE ADVISED

THAT SURRENDER OF UNITED STATES SOVEREIGNTY IN THE CANAL ZONE WAS NOT A NEGOTIABLE ITEM; THEY APPARENTLY CHOSE TO IGNORE THIS ADVICE.

QUOTE ON APRIL 5, A SENSE-OF-THE-SENATE RESOLUTION WAS INTRODUCED CALLING FOR CONTINUED UNITED STATES SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE CANAL ZONE. AT THIS TIME, THIRTY-FIVE SENATORS-- MORE THAN ONE-THIRD OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SENATE -- HAVE JOINED IN SPONSORING IT. NO GREAT EFFORT WAS REQUIRED TO PICK UP CO SPONSORS FOR THIS RESOLUTION; IN FACT, MOST OF THE SIGNATURES WERE COLLECTED IN A SINGLE AFTERNOON.

QUOTE THIS LIST OF CO-SPONSORS IS NOTEWORTHY NOT ONLY FOR ITS NUMBERS, BUT FOR ITS LEADERSHIP QUALITY. IT INCLUDES THE CHAIRMAN AND RANKING REPUBLICAN OF THE AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY COMMITTEE, THE CHAIRMAN AND RANKING REPUBLICAN OF THE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE, AND CHAIRMAN AND RANKING REPUBLICAN OF THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE, THE CHAIRMAN AND RANKING REPUBLICAN OF THE VETERANS AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, AND THE CHAIRMAN AND RANKING REPUBLICAN OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES. IT ALSO INCLUDES THE RANKING REPUBLICANS OF THE AERONAUTICAL AND SPACE SCIENCES COMMITTEE, THE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE, THE BANKING COMMITTEE, THE COMMERCE COMMITTEE, THE FINANCE COMMITTEE, THE INTERIOR COMMITTEE AND THE PUBLIC WORKS COMMITTEE. AT THE OTHER END OF THE SENIORITY SPECTRUM, IT INCLUDES EVERY FRESHMAN REPUBLICAN SENATOR.

QUOTE THERE IS NO WAY IN WHICH THE JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES CAN BE RECONCILED WITH THE SENATE RESOLUTION. THERE IS NO WAY THAT ANY TREATY CAN ADEQUATELY PROTECT AND DEFEND OUR INTERESTS IN OPERATING THE CANAL WHEN IT HAS AS ITS BASIS THE ABROGATION OF SOVEREIGNTY.
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AND SOVEREIGNTY IS THE NUB OF THE ISSUE. IN THE COM-PLICATED POWER RELATIONSHIPS OF THE MODERN WORLD, THE CONTINUED EXERCISE OF SOVEREIGNTY IS THE ONLY WAY TO KEEP THE CANAL OPERATING EFFICIENTLY AND CONTINUOUSLY, NOT ONLY FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE UNITED STATES BUT ALSO FOR THE ENTIRE WORLD-

QUOTE INDEED PERPETUAL UNITED STATES CONTROL WAS AN

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ESSENTIAL PART OF THE JURIDICAL ARRANGEMENT THAT
ENABLED THE UNITED STATES TO BUILD THE CANAL AND
KEEP IT OPERATING THROUGH WAR AND PEACE.

QUOTE AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY, THE FRENCH-OWNED

CANAL COMPANY IN THE COLOMBIAN PROVINCE OF PANAMA HAD
VIRTUALLY FAILED. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE UNITED STATES
ALREADY WAS INVOLVED IN CONSTRUCTION OF AN ISTHMIAN
CANAL IN NICARAGUA. IT WAS THE COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT
THAT OPENED NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES TO
ABANDON THE PROJECT IN NICARAGUA AND, INSTEAD, BUILD
THE CANAL IN PANAMA.

QUOTE IN THE SPOONER ACT OF 19O2, CONGRESS AUTHORIZED
THEODORE ROOSEVELT TO NEGOTIATE WITH COLOMBIA BUT
ONLY ON THE BASIS OF PERPETUAL UNITED STATES CONTROL.
WHEN THE INTERNAL DISSENSIONS OF COLOMBIAN POLITICS
DENIED THE PEOPLE OF PANAMA THE BENEFITS OF THE PRO-
POSED CANAL, PANAMANIAN PATRIOTS RISKED THEIR LIVES
AND PROPERTY TO PROCLAIM INDEPENDENCE. IN ENSUING
NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, THE NEW GOVERN-
MENT OF PANAMA AGREED TO PERPETUAL UNITED STATES SOVEREIGN-
TY OVER THE CANAL ZONE AS THE NECESSARY INDUCEMENT TO
DIVERT UNITED STATES INTERESTS FROM NICARAGUA TO PANAMA.

QUOTE THE CANAL ZONE IS UNITED STATES TERRITORY. IT
WAS OBTAINED BOTH BY GRANT OF SOVEREIGNTY IN THE 19O3
TREATY, AND BY PURCHASE OF ALL OUTSTANDING RIGHTS
AND TITLES IN PERPETUITY. IN ALL WE HAVE PAID
DOLLARS 163,718,571 FOR THOSE RIGHTS AND TITLES, INCLUD-
ING THE ASSUMPTION OF THE ANNUITY FORMERLY PAID BY
THE PANAMA RAILROAD TO COLOMBIA.
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QUOTE THE TOTAL UNITED STATES INVESTMENT, INCLUDING
DEFENSE, AMOUNTS TO NEARLY DOLLARS 6 BILLION. THERE
IS NO 'LEASE' INVOLVED WHATSOEVER. IN FACT, THE
PURCHASE OF THE CANAL ZONE IS THE MOST EXPENSIVE
TERRITORIAL ACQUISITION IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED
STATES, OUTSTRIPPING BY FAR THE LOUISIANA AND ALASKAN
PURCHASES OF DOLLARS 15 MILLION AND DOLLARS 7.2
MILLION RESPECTIVELY.

QUOTE THE TREATY OF 19O3 SPECIFICALLY EXCLUDED PANAMA
FROM AN EXERCISE OF SOVEREIGNTY IN THE ZONE. CONGRESS
IS, THEREFORE, THE LEGISLATURE FOR THE CANAL ZONE.
CONGRESS HAS SET UP A CANAL ZONE CODE, A FEDERAL
DISTRICT COURT AT BALBOA, AND A GOVERNMENT FOR THE

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ZONE. MUCH OF THE DOMESTIC LEGISLATION OF THIS

COUNTRY APPLIES IN THE CANAL ZONE, UNLESS SPECIFICALLY EXCEPTED.

QUOTE. IF THE UNITED STATES WERE TO SURRENDER ITS SOVEREIGNTY, PANAMA COULD EASILY DESTROY HERSELF UNDER UNBEARABLE PRESSURES, BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL.

QUOTE WITHOUT CONTINUED UNITED STATES SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE CANAL ZONE, ANY TREATY SIGNED WITH PANAMA WOULD BECOME A MERE SCRAP OF PAPER, SUBJECT TO THE ESCALATING DEMANDS OF INTERNAL PANAMANIAN
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